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# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

## MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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### MARCH MEETING, 1901.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. In the unavoidable absence of the President, the senior Vice-President, SAMUEL A. GREEN, LL.D., was in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read; and the Corresponding Secretary said he had received a letter of acceptance from the Rt. Hon. John Morley, who was elected a Corresponding Member at the February meeting.

The VICE-PRESIDENT, in announcing the death of an Honorary Member, said:—

Since our last meeting the Society has lost by death one of its oldest, as well as one of its most distinguished, Honorary Members. William Maxwell Evarts died at his home in New York, on February 28, after a long illness, at the ripe age of eighty-three years. A native of Boston, where he was born on February 6, 1818, he came of sturdy New England stock, his mother being a daughter of Roger Sherman, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was fitted for college at the Boston Latin School; and his connection with that institution was duly recognized in later years when he was invited by the Latin School Association to deliver an address, on December 2, 1870, at the inauguration of a statue in memory of the former pupils of the school who fell in defence of the Union. On that occasion Mr. Evarts said, with a good deal of warmth, that he was as much of a Boston schoolboy as anybody could be, as his entire schooling from

the age of five years till he went to college was received in this city. A graduate of Yale in 1837, he took high rank there in a class that had many distinguished members. Studying the profession of law, he reached eminence, both at the bar and in public office, in the various positions which he was called upon to fill. His learning and long experience in the courts made him a great advocate, and as such he will live in history. He was the last surviving member of the Board of Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, as originally appointed by the founder.

It fell to Mr. Evarts's lot to be actively and successfully associated with three of the greatest causes in American political jurisprudence; namely, the impeachment of a President, the Geneva arbitration, and the contests before the Electoral Commission. He served for four years as Secretary of State during the administration of President Hayes, and later one term as a member of the United States Senate. Owing to failing eyesight and the feeble condition of his body, in recent years he had withdrawn from active interest in public affairs; and thus ended a life of distinguished usefulness, when he left an untarnished name as a heritage to a large family of children and grandchildren.

Mr. Nathaniel Paine, of Worcester, was elected a Resident Member, and Mr. Frederic Harrison, of London, England, was elected a Corresponding Member,

The Vice-President then announced "that the following committees had been appointed, to report at the Annual Meeting: To nominate officers, Messrs. Morton Dexter, A. Lawrence Lowell, and Charles R. Codman; to examine the Treasurer's accounts, Messrs. George B. Chase and Arthur Lord; to examine the Library, Messrs. Worthington C. Ford, William Everett, and Andrew McF. Davis.

Mr. FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, of New Haven, Connecticut, a Corresponding Member, read the following paper:—

*The Manuscripts of Jonathan Edwards.*

I trust I shall not be misunderstood in venturing, though a layman, to discuss briefly the manuscripts of New England's great theologian. They have come under my scrutiny as a

librarian, and I cannot help taking stock of them as human documents, without pretending to appraise them theologically.

In January, 1758, Edwards left Stockbridge to go to Princeton for inauguration as President of the College of New Jersey. His eldest unmarried daughter went with him, while the rest of the family and their household effects, including his books and papers, were to follow when summer opened.

His sudden death occurred on March 22, and when his widow died in the ensuing fall there were left two married and four unmarried daughters and three sons. The eldest son had already been graduated at Princeton, and remained for some years in New Jersey, not following a profession; while the other sons were at their father's death respectively nearly thirteen and eight years of age.

Edwards had made his last will in 1753, and his estate, valued at over £900, was settled the year after his death. The will gave his manuscripts to Mrs. Edwards, and in the inventory are entered under this head fifteen folio and fifteen quarto volumes, besides 1,074 sermons, — the whole appraised at £6. The manuscript collection which I am to speak of appears to contain the major part of the folios and quartos thus enumerated, and more than the requisite number of sermons.

In 1765, while the only son who followed his father's line of study was still an undergraduate, Edwards's pupil, Samuel Hopkins, of Great Barrington, published two volumes from the manuscripts. In 1774 the son just referred to, Jonathan Edwards the younger, then a pastor in New Haven, began, in connection with Dr. Erskine, of Edinburgh, the publication of what became a series of four volumes derived from the same sources. But he died early, in 1801, leaving in the care of his executor the remaining material.

In 1809 a uniform edition, in four volumes, of Edwards's Works was issued by the Rev. Samuel Austin, of Worcester, but this included nothing before unprinted.

After this President Dwight, a grandson, contemplated at the request of his uncles the preparation of a new life, and had for this purpose a portion, at least, of the manuscripts for some time in his keeping. There is also good evidence that President Dwight's son, Dr. Sereno E. Dwight, received from his father, who died in 1817, an injunction to carry out the work

not yet accomplished, and accordingly soon began to gather material, securing some manuscripts by gift and copies of others, and finally completing in 1829 the issue of the collected works in ten volumes, the first of which is occupied by a Life.

A portion of this material is believed to have been secured by Dr. Dwight at Windsor, Connecticut, the home of Edwards's boyhood.

Dr. Dwight's collection of manuscripts and copies was bequeathed at his death in 1850 to his brother, the Rev. Dr. William T. Dwight, of Portland, Maine. This collection, which is now at Andover, embraces many papers of the highest interest, including personal and family letters and early speculative and scientific writings.

The main collection, which had been loaned to Dr. Sereno E. Dwight, was by a written agreement of the surviving grandchildren placed in 1847 in the hands of a great-grandson, the Rev. Dr. Tryon Edwards, then of New London, Connecticut, as trustee, with the understanding that he might arrange for a new edition of the Life and Works. A scheme for such an edition, under the care of Dr. William T. Dwight (who was to contribute the Life), Professor Edwards A. Park, and Dr. Tryon Edwards, was for some years under discussion. In the mean time, in 1854, the Rev. Alexander B. Grosart, of Scotland, visited New London to examine the Tryon Edwards collection,<sup>1</sup> and took with him on his return some portions of it, to be copied and prepared for such an edition.

Finally, perhaps about 1870, Dr. Edwards loaned what was in his hands to Professor Park, who contemplated the preparation of a new Life; and about ten years ago a number of the surviving great-grandchildren, under the efficient lead of Mr. Eli Whitney, senior, of New Haven, united in signing an agreement that after Professor Park had done with them the manuscripts thus loaned should be deposited in the Library of Yale University. Professor Park died in June, 1900, and the manuscripts were received at Yale in August.

To come now to the contents of the New Haven collection. In the first place, negatively, it does not contain any of Edwards's more famous early writings, such as the "Resolutions,"

<sup>1</sup> A brief account of the collection is printed in "The Independent" of December 23, 1852.

the "Diary," and those remarkable illustrations of precocity, the "Notes on the Mind and on Natural Science";<sup>1</sup> and with one slight exception, it contains none of his correspondence.

As might be expected, the largest item in the inventory of his mature productions is an immense number of sermons — between eleven and twelve hundred, of varying degrees of completeness — more than one-third, that is, of the whole number which would have been required, at the rate of two a week, for the thirty years of his career as an ordained minister.

Such an amount of material gives of course the means of tracing very fully the author's sermonizing habits.

For manuscript he used folds of paper stitched together, of a convenient size to be laid in a small preaching Bible or held directly in one hand while resting the elbow on the desk, — the size of the paper ranging from three to four inches in width and from four to six in length.

In date of composition, the sermons fall naturally into four groups.

There are, first, about fifty, undated, of uniform size and appearance, which from the handwriting and other indications undoubtedly belong to the earliest years of his ministry, — some probably antedating even his settlement at Northampton.

Next come about five hundred, on pages of a smaller size, usually written out in full, or approximately so, and mostly with the month and year in which they were first preached.<sup>2</sup>

Then, about 1741, he gets more into the habit of using outlines instead of fully written sermons, and we have about three hundred and fifty specimens of this sort, prepared in the last decade of his Northampton pastorate, quite a number of which were repeated in Stockbridge; while there is also a fourth group, on still another size and shape of paper, of about one hundred and seventy-five briefer outlines of sermons prepared for the Mohawks at Stockbridge, in which the themes are evidently much more simply treated.

Supplementary to the sermons is an interesting volume of a hundred and fifty pages, apparently begun about 1738, and

<sup>1</sup> What Dr. Dwight, in his *Life* (pp. 41, 42, 702, 703), calls the cover page to the "Notes on Natural Science" is, however, here.

<sup>2</sup> Edwards adopted this custom of noting the date in 1733.

filled with plans of discourses and the enumeration of texts from which the writer proposed to preach, with the doctrines deducible from them. A study of this volume only deepens the impression that preaching was a matter of great joy to Edwards, and that the change from Northampton to Stockbridge, where there was next to no need for this kind of preparation, was painful for this reason also, that it removed an incentive to a specially attractive exercise of mental power.

Everything so far enumerated is unpublished ; but besides these there is a group of about fifty sermons, more or less fully written out, which appear in Edwards's printed works. These have a special interest, in the case of those which he himself sent to the press, as showing how much the original manuscript was elaborated in delivery or in printing.

For instance, here is one of his most famous sermons, "Sinners in the hands of an angry God," which was, as appears from the margin, prepared for his own people in June, 1741, and was preached with such startling effect the following month at Enfield.<sup>1</sup> The tradition is that in the delivery this was closely read from the manuscript; but the original shows that the discourse was not entirely written out, so that the tradition is hardly to be relied on. To show the degree of expansion which the author used in print, I quote the *locus classicus* which more perhaps than any other passage represents Edwards to the popular mind:—

"The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider, or some loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked: his wrath towards you burns like fire; he looks upon you as worthy of nothing else, but to be cast into the fire; he is of purer eyes than to bear to have you in his sight; you are ten thousand times more abominable in his eyes, than the most hateful venomous serpent is in ours. You have offended him infinitely more than ever a stubborn rebel did his prince; and yet it is nothing but his hand that holds you from falling into the fire every moment."

The corresponding passage in the original manuscript is:—

"You are over the pit of hell in Gods hand very much as one holds a spider or some loathsome Insect over the fire & 'tis nothing but for God to let you go & you fall in."

<sup>1</sup> In the collection is another earlier (undated) sermon from the same text, with a different line of argument.

There is rather an unusual proportion of "occasional sermons," on Fasts, Thanksgivings, Deaths, Quarterly Lectures, Contribution Lectures, Society Meetings, Private Meetings, Children's Meetings, etc.

The few specimens of distinctive preaching to children are expositions of texts which our degenerate days would consider strong meat for such a purpose. One, for example, is from 2 Kings ii. 23, 24: "And he went up from thence unto Bethel: and as he was going up by the way, there came forth little children out of the city, and mocked him, and said unto him, Go up, thou bald head; go up, thou bald head. And he turned back, and looked on them, and cursed them in the name of the Lord. And there came forth two she bears out of the wood, and tare forty and two children of them." And a second is from Matthew x. 37: "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me." I ought to add that the doctrine inculcated in these cases seems less hard than the texts.

In such a long series of sermons there cannot fail to be some that connect themselves with striking events in the preacher's life. Such are, to mention only a few, the one preached from Job xiv. 2, on the Sabbath after the death of his second daughter, Jerusha, who was betrothed to David Brainerd, though this was strictly an old sermon, preached seven years before "at a private meeting of young people after Billy Sheldon's Death," and now provided with a new "application." There is one of peculiar interest from Jeremiah xxiii. 29, preached in April, 1749, just at the height of the fierce controversy which ended the speaker's Northampton career; and another, one of the very latest which he preached there, before his dismissal, the text of which, Isaiah xxxii. 17, 18, is suggestive of the peaceable spirit which he strove to inculcate. There is also one of the latest (from Luke xxi. 36) to his Indian flock at Stockbridge.

There is at least one,<sup>1</sup> and I think more, marked as preached at Northampton during his residence in Stockbridge, and similarly in the book of plans of sermons there are in the same period at least three notes of texts and doctrines marked as designed for Northampton, though it is commonly said that he never occupied his old pulpit after his dismissal.

<sup>1</sup> From 2 Cor. iv. 6. Preached in May, 1755.



Among the general impressions about the way in which he did his work as a preacher, one of the first is, as already intimated, that he found sermon-writing very easy and very enjoyable. And besides the spontaneity and copiousness of it, there is about his ordinary style great simplicity and directness, and if I may so say, a certain unexpected freshness and modernness, — not at all the impression of aridity and remorseless logic which one might have looked for. In fact, the impression of the manuscripts as a whole is to make Edwards seem very human, with much more of the yearning and pleading attitude of a devout pastor than the aloofness and absorption of an abstract metaphysician.

The spelling throughout is almost unexceptionable, — far better than in the ordinary clerical manuscript of his century. The handwriting is minute and often illegible, but intentionally so, as only meant for his own eye; what he writes for others is plain enough. He used a shorthand of his own devising (remarkable mainly for its obscurity) in some of his early manuscripts, and continued to use it to a limited extent, chiefly in brief memoranda on his sermons and seemingly for economy of space rather than for concealment of thought.

Down to the time when he adopted the habit of using outlines rather than fully written sermons, he was fairly particular in having good paper, evenly cut and folded. But during the latter half of his ministry it is the exception to find his notes written on fresh, unused paper. He utilized scraps of all obtainable sorts, — bills; family and business letters; physicians' prescriptions; marriage publishments; requests for prayers and for thanksgivings in the meeting-house; children's copy-books; fly-leaves, title-pages, and margins of books; proof-sheets; circulars; proclamations; subscription papers for his own books; and most frequently of all, scraps of the thin soft paper said to have been used by his wife and daughters in making fans.

To illustrate, we find employed as sermon paper several specimens of Mrs. Edwards's letters and several of his own. Thus, from a sermon preached in May, 1743, on Ephesians iv. 15, 16, the following to his wife is rescued : —

LEBANON at Mr. Metcalf's, March 25, 1743.

DEAR SPOUSE, — I recieved this morning by Mr Potwine the short Letter you sent me, with the Books, papers &c — for which I thank

you. By this I would inform you that I have been considerably amiss since I came from home ; riding in such tempestuous weather increased my cold, and almost overcame me. But am now a little better. I faild of seeing Mr Wheelock as I came down, and so had no opportunity to agree with him about the alteration of the time of my absence from home : but intended notwithstanding to have gone home next week. But many ministers have been urging me to go to New-London, but I refused unless a number of them would go with me : and last night Mr Meacham, Mr Williams & Mr Pumroy agreed to go down with me the next week, to endeavour to reclaim the People there from their Errours. So that I believe I shall not be at home till the week after next. Give my Love to my Children & Mr Wheelock. Br. & Sister Metcalf give their Love to you & the Children. Remember me in your Prayers. I am my dearest Companion

Your affectionate Consort

JONATHAN EDWARDS.

The allusion to New London is understood by recalling the bonfires of unsound religious books which the fanatical followers of the crazy revivalist, James Davenport, had kindled there two or three weeks before.

The household bills preserved in the same way give us occasional items of interest : as when a jeweller's account shows that Mrs. Edwards had purchased in 1743 "a Gold Locket & Chane" for £11, we have a right to feel that her rare graces of spirit were not disjoined from a human love for the beautiful. And again, when we find the great preacher charged twice in a list of common household goods at three months' interval with "one dozen of long pipes," we feel that he too had his human side and his solace for over-much study. But perhaps the most gratifying of all is a little entry in the midst of humdrum purchases of foolscap paper and sealing-wax and Bayley's spelling-books, — "1 childs Plaything, 4/6." A glimpse of Jonathan Edwards buying playthings for his children is worth all the rest of the sermon. As it happens, the same sermon is written in part (in July, 1744) on a leaf of an old writing-book on which familiar rhymes of the "New England Primer" have been copied as exercises by the two of these self-same children, Esther and Mary, who were in turn to be the mothers of the two most widely known, not equally honored, grandchildren of Jonathan Edwards, — Aaron Burr and Timothy Dwight.

After the sermons the most voluminous section of our

manuscripts is the commonplace book, well known to students of Edwards by the name of "Miscellaneous Observations," or "Miscellanies," as he himself called them. From this source mainly were selected the two volumes, published at Edinburgh in 1793-96, with the titles "Miscellaneous Observations on important Theological Subjects," and "Remarks on important Theological Controversies." These portions were reprinted by Dr. Dwight in his edition of 1829, with a few supplementary extracts, making nearly five hundred pages in all; but these are only a fragment of the whole amount, which is here in eight folio or quarto volumes, aggregating over 1,400 minutely written pages. They were begun at an early age, and continued to be added to up to near the close of the writer's life. They are all theological, but, as the title implies, entirely disconnected, following each other in numerical order up to No. 1,360<sup>1</sup> (or more exactly 1,412, as two alphabetical series preceded the numbers); and no representation of Edwards as a thinker is quite complete so long as so many of these "Miscellanies" are still in manuscript.

I should add that our associate Professor Egbert C. Smyth published in 1880 a few additional selections. One of these, entitled "Observations concerning the Scripture Economy of the Trinity and Covenant of Redemption," was printed from a copy apparently prepared for the son, Dr. Jonathan Edwards, when publishing the volume of "Miscellaneous Observations" above referred to. The other extracts were from the copies made for Dr. Sereno Dwight.

Another large item in the collection is a Bible, interleaved, in quarto, which Edwards seems to have acquired as late as 1748, and which is nearly filled with comparatively brief exegetical, doctrinal, and practical notes. Mr. Grosart printed in 1865 a hundred and twenty pages of excerpts from this volume.

Entirely distinct from this is a series of longer manuscript "Notes on the Bible," in three quarto volumes, a good part of which appeared in Dwight's edition of the Works.

Of the manuscripts of other published writings than those already mentioned, there are, I believe, but two, — that of a

<sup>1</sup> I find a note in one of Edwards's MS. sermons (on Rom. iv. 5), which was written in November, 1734, and published in 1738, referring to "No. 688" of this series. It is clear, then, that he had reached this number by 1738, at the latest.

portion of the work on the "Doctrine of Original Sin," and an early draft of the "Reply to Solomon Williams on the Qualifications for Communion."

Some briefer manuscripts may be mentioned less in detail. There is, for instance, a thin folio, "Images [or "Shadows"] of Divine Things," which seems from the handwriting to be almost as early in date as anything in the collection; it was at one time intended for publication, and two alternative titles are given on the fly-leaf; namely, "The Book of Nature and Common Providence" and "The Language and Lessons of Nature." The conception of the treatise is to illustrate Scripture and God's dealings with men by the types of natural events, reminding one of a passage in Edwards's Diary, of August 28, 1723, where he writes: "When I want books to read; yea, when I have not very good books, not to spend time in reading them, but in reading the Scriptures, in perusing Resolutions, &c., in *writing on Types of the Scripture* and other things."

I quote one section of the work by way of example:—

"73. The way of a Cat with a mouse that it has taken captive is a lively emblem of the way of the devil with many wicked men. A mouse is a foul unclean creature a fit type of a wicked man. Levit. 11, 29, These also shall be unclean — The weasel & the mouse. Isai. 66, 17, Eating swines Flesh and the abomination & the mouse. The Cat makes a play & sport of the poor mouse, so the devil does as it were make himself sport with a wicked man. The cat lets the mouse go & it seems to have escaped, it hopes it is delivered but is suddenly caught up again before it can get clear & so time after time the mouse makes many vain attempts, thinks it self free when it is still a captive, is taken up again by the Jaws & into the Jaws of its devourer as if it were just going to be destroyed but then is let go again, but never quite escapes till at last it yields its life to its Enemy & is crushed between his teeth & totally devoured. So many wicked men especially under false Professions of Religion & sinners under Gospel Light are led captive by Satan at his will, are under the power & dominion of their lusts & tho they have many struggles of Conscience about their sins yet never wholly escape them, when they seem to escape they fall into them again & so again & again till at length they are totally & utterly devoured by Satan."

Of another manuscript of similar appearance, but miscellaneous in contents, the date may be in part inferred from a

long series of questions on Old Testament history, which is found at the end, and which were assigned as topics for investigation to boys in the Northampton congregation, whose names are given, about 1735-40, — a sort of early substitute for the modern Sunday-school or Bible class. The date of these pages, which may be confidently assumed, is of interest in connection with an essay which stands first within the same covers. This is an early metaphysical and scholastic but entirely orthodox argument on the Trinity, without title, which is thought to be the treatise alluded to by Professor Park in two articles in the "Bibliotheca Sacra" for 1881, which were called out by the publication of Professor Smyth to which I have already alluded.

There are also a very few separate papers of personal interest, — perhaps the most important being a series of half a dozen letters to Joseph Bellamy, a favorite pupil and friend. I select one as a specimen of Edwards's familiar correspondence : —

DEAR SIR, — I receiv'd your Letter by Mr Strong this day. Mr. Searl was here at my House presently after, and I gave your Questions to him, and told him the Bearer intended quickly to return.

(As to the affair of sheep, I am much obliged to you for the Pains you have taken. I believe you have acted the Part of a trusty Friend therein. I suppose it is known by this time, whether the man that went to Newtown has succeeded. If he has, & the sheep are bought, we shall rest on what you have done ; but if not, & you shall have found no opportunity 'till this Letter reaches you, it is so late in the year, that I desire you would keep the money 'till shearing Time is over, & then buy ; when I suppose they may be bought much cheaper than now. But I would pray you to send us word by the first opportunity, that if we are not like to have any sheep this year, we may seasonably be looking out, & laying in for wool else-where, for the supply of the Family. In the spring, if you can give us any encouragement, I should be glad to lay out 60£ more for sheep in those parts, as soon as shearing time is over, besides the 30£ you have in your Hands. But, if you buy so many sheep for us, it might be perhaps expedient, on some accounts, for the present, not to let it be known who the sheep are for.)

As to the Books you speak of : Mastrict is sometimes in one vol. a very thick large Quarto ; sometimes in two Quarto volumes. I believe it could not be had new under 8 or 10 Pounds. Turretine is in three vols. in Quarto, and would probably be about the same Price. They

are both excellent. Turretine is on Polemical divinity; on the 5 Points, & all other Controversial Points; & is much larger in these than Mastrick; & is better for one that desires only to be thoroughly versed in Controversies. But take Mastrick for divinity in general, doctrine Practice & Controversie; or as an universal system of divinity; & it is much better than Turretine, or any other Book in the world, excepting the Bible, in my opinion. I have Thoughts of sending myself this year to England, for a few Books, and have written to Mr. Quincy,<sup>1</sup> a merch<sup>t</sup> in Boston, about it, to desire his advice & assistance, as to the Course to be taken to obtain 'em. If I employ him to send for me, I shall be willing to serve you (as I desire you to serve me about the sheep. I am willing) to take your money, put it with my own, & put your Books into my Catalogue & have all come as mine: or shall be willing to serve you, if I can in any Respect, by writing to my Correspondents in Scotland.

I have been reading Whitby, which has engaged me pretty thoroughly in the study of the Arminian Controversy; and I have writ<sup>n</sup> considerably on it in my private Papers. I must intreat you, if possible, to borrow for me Dr Stebbing, on the Spirit. I had rather pay something for the use of it, than not have some considerable opportunity with it. I have got so deep into this controversy, that I am not willing to dismiss it, 'till I know the utmost of these matters.

I have very lately received a Pacquet from Scotland, with several Copies of a memorial, for the continuing and propagating an Agreement for joint Prayer, for the general Revival of Religion: three of which I here send you, desiring you to dispose of two of 'em where they will be most serviceable. For my Part, I heartily wish it was fallen in with by all Christians from the rising to the setting sun. — I have returned you Mr Dickinsons Book, but must pray you to let me have further opportunity with Dr Johnsons.<sup>2</sup> If you could enquire of Dr Johnson, or Mr Beach, or some other, & find out what is the best Book on the Arminian side, for the defence of their notion of Free will; & whether there be any better & more full than Whitby, I should be glad; provided you have convenient opportunity. I don't know but I shall publish something after a while on that subject.<sup>3</sup>

Dear sir, we have so many affairs to confer upon, that concern us both, that I would propose you should come this way again in February or March. You han't a great Family to tie you at Home, as I have. But if you can't come I must desire you to write fully & largely on all

<sup>1</sup> Edmund Quincy (Harvard, 1722), the uncle of Josiah Quincy, Jr.

<sup>2</sup> The reference is to "A Letter from Aristocles to Authades," Boston, 1745, anonymous, by the Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, Connecticut; and "A Vindication of God's sovereign free Grace," Boston, 1746, by the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson, of Elizabeth, New Jersey.

<sup>3</sup> The "Enquiry into the Freedom of the Will" did not appear until 1754.

the foregoing particulars of this Letter. Herein you will oblige, your cordial & affectionate Friend & Brother,

JONATHAN EDWARDS.

NORTHAMPTON Jan. 15, 1746, 7.

P. S. It now comes to my mind that I heard that Dr Pyncheon of Long-meadow, has Turretine, and that he lately offered to change it away for other Books; so that in all probability you may there have it at a moderate Price.

This letter shows, as do others, that Edwards took an active part in administering the worldly concerns of his household, though Hopkins in his "Life" gives Mrs. Edwards the credit of the charge of such things. And I may express with emphasis my conviction, on examining this mass of his papers, that Edwards himself was, with all his genius, altogether practical and efficient in business affairs. Hardly otherwise could he, after having portioned off three married daughters and sent a son through college, have left at his death what was for that time and place so really ample an estate as to be appraised at £900.

Anecdotes are repeated of his absent-mindedness; but there is in the manuscripts no suggestion of anything of this nature, unless it be his fashion of putting in large letters at the end of his sermons minutes of church notices which he had to give, or official acts to be performed.

Passing over other papers of minor importance, I mention last what is in some respects the most interesting manuscript of the collection, — a thin quarto memorandum book, labelled on both covers in Edwards's hand simply "Catalogue." This is a book which he kept at hand from the period of his tutorship at Yale down to the last year of his life, and in which he jotted down from time to time various literary memoranda, mainly the titles of books which he heard of, or desired or intended to read, and other items, culled from his correspondence or from papers and magazines that came in his way, which excited his literary interest. The record is brief and fragmentary, and theological books naturally engross most of his attention; but it is as near to a literary autobiography of Edwards as we can get, and something in the nature of a revelation of the breadth of his horizon in the country solitudes of Northampton and the unbroken wilderness of Stockbridge.

Here, for instance, are a few of the entries on what appears

as the opening leaf of this record of *legenda*,—a fold of a letter addressed to him while residing at Yale after graduation, that is, between the ages of 17 and 23. The six earliest are the Bible, Mr. Baxter's Life, Mr. Stoddard's Safety of Appearing, his manuscripts, The English Grammar, and Mr. Watts's Poems; and later on the same leaf—to name only some of the more significant non-theological items—there are The Guardian, Locke of Human Understanding, Milton's Paradise Lost, Luther's Colloquies, Quarles's Poems, Newton's Principia and Opticks, Scarburgh's Euclid, Cowper's Anatomy, Plutarch's Lives, and Walter Raleigh's History. In some of these cases the works were probably named for re-reading, notably so with Locke, who was a favorite author.

The scope of his special interests may be illustrated by a quotation from these early pages, where he writes:—

“Books to be enquired for. — The best Geography; the best history of the World; the best Exposition of the Apocalypse; the best General Ecclesiastical History from Xt. to the Present time; the best upon the types of the Scripture; which are the most usefull & necessary of the Fathers; the best Chronology; the best historical Dictionary, of the nature of Bayle's Dictionary; the best that speaks of the Ecclesiastical learning of the Jews; the best History of Lives of Philosophers.”

In regard to the introductory pages of this “Catalogue,” it should be added that many of the titles noted are familiar, as those of books which he was able to find in the Yale Library in 1720 to 1726, from certain special large additions recently received there through Jeremy Dummer and Governor Yale.

A close study of these pages may help to fix the dates when Edwards became acquainted with various writings which influenced his own; but this is a slow and somewhat laborious task. The mooted question of his anticipation of Berkeley's idealism has this light thrown upon it, that Berkeley's “Principles of Human Knowledge” and “New Theory of Vision,” published respectively in 1710 and 1709, are entered on the fifth page of this list, which must mean not earlier than 1730; and it is hardly possible that they were then entered if previously read.

As the entries already quoted show, he is attracted by all current good literature, both in prose and poetry. We find here, for example, Pope's Homer, Pope's Miscellaneous Works, Prior's Poems, Quarles's Emblems, The Spectator, Addison's



Works, Young's Night Thoughts, Fénelon's Adventures of Telemachus, Richardson's Clarissa and Pamela, and Fielding's Amelia. The closing entries on the list, as if to show that he was not merely a theologian, relate to an Abridgment of Johnson's Dictionary, and a new work on the Elements of Geometry.

I pause here in this rapid review of the calendar of the Edwards manuscripts, with the remark that they supply the material for a new, and perhaps more detailed study of the successive phases of his mental development.

It should also be added that, besides this collection and the manuscripts which I have referred to as formerly belonging to the Rev. Dr. Dwight, no other considerable collection exists. At Princeton, where the fame of Edwards is reverently cherished, a portion of his library has been acquired; but, apart from this, the only specimen of his handwriting there preserved is the letter of dismission for his daughter, Mrs. Burr, from the church in Stockbridge; and the single letters and other documents which are scattered elsewhere are valued in proportion to their rarity.

Rev. Dr. JAMES DE NORMANDIE read the following paper:

*Jonathan Edwards at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.*

The 28th of June, 1749, was a day of great interest, not only to the South Parish, but to the whole town of Portsmouth. The old church was to settle a young minister, and Jonathan Edwards, then regarded as the spiritual head of the churches in New England and by far the most eminent living theologian, was to preach the sermon.

While Mr. Brainerd was doing such remarkable missionary work among the Indians at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, he met at Northampton in 1747 a young man, Job Strong, a relative of Hon. Caleb Strong, one of the first United States Senators of Massachusetts and thereafter Governor of the State for eleven years, who had just graduated at Yale, and whom Brainerd desired to join him in his Indian work. Soon after Strong began his mission, he was compelled to give it up for a time, on account of poor health, and the church in Portsmouth invited him to be its minister. But Mr. Edwards felt that he was needed

for the Indian work, in which he himself was for some time engaged, and in which at the beginning Strong showed such zeal and gifts that Edwards wanted him to be the successor of Brainerd, who had just died; so he persuaded the Portsmouth committee not to use their influence for his settlement among them; and Mr. Strong came to the parish, as it was understood, for a temporary engagement. Whether the committee faithfully kept their promise to Jonathan Edwards or not, they could not persuade the parish not to use its influence with Mr. Strong, for his preaching was so satisfactory and promising that after some brief labors among the Indians, for which his health was insufficient, the parish secured him as its minister, and Jonathan Edwards, as his friend, was to be present at the installation.

The uncertainty of travel in those days made it necessary to have a substitute in case the appointed preacher did not arrive in time. The Rev. Mr. Moody of York, able and eccentric, had accepted the place.

Mary Edwards, the daughter of Jonathan Edwards, then about fifteen years of age, afterwards Mrs. Dwight of Northampton, was visiting some of her father's friends in Portsmouth, and had not experienced conversion or become a member of the church.

On the morning of the day set for the services, Mr. Edwards not having arrived, the Council delayed the exercises as long as they well could, and then proceeded to the church, where Mr. Moody had been regularly assigned to offer the opening prayer. That gentleman, knowing that a very large and most distinguished and cultivated congregation had been drawn together by a strong desire to hear Jonathan Edwards, arose to pray under the not very pleasant impression that he was standing in the place of Edwards, and offered a prayer which was wholly characteristic of himself, and in some degree also of the times in which he lived. In that part of it in which it was proper to allude to the exercises of the day, he besought the Lord that they might be suitably humbled under the frown of his providence, in not being permitted to hear on that occasion a discourse, as they had all fondly expected, from "that eminent servant of God, the Rev. Mr. Edwards of Northampton," and proceeded to thank God for having raised him up to be such a burning and

shining light, for his uncommon piety, for his great excellence as a preacher, for the remarkable success which had attended his ministry in other congregations as well as his own, for the superior talents and wisdom with which he was endowed as a writer, and for the great amount of good which his works had already done and still promised to do to the church and to the world. He then prayed that God would spare his life, and endow him with still greater gifts and graces, and render him still more eminent and useful than he had been. Then he concluded this part of his prayer by supplicating the divine blessing on Mary Edwards, then in the congregation, who, he said, though a very worthy and amiable young lady, was still, as they had reason to believe, without the grace of God and in an unconverted state; that God would bring her to repentance, forgive her sins, and not suffer the peculiar privileges which she enjoyed to be the means of a more aggravated condemnation.

Think what our ancestors and their children were oftentimes obliged to hear from the lips of an eccentric minister. One would suppose that if anything would repel a sensitive young life from the sanctuary forever, it would be such a prayer on such an occasion; yet the spirit and custom of the age may have hardened them even to that, or they may have looked upon it all as a kind of church theatre,—the only entertainment they had.

Mr. Edwards, who travelled on horseback and had been unexpectedly detained on the road, arrived at the church a short time after the commencement of the exercises, and entered the door just after Mr. Moody began his prayer. Being remarkably quiet in all his movements, and particularly so in the house of God, he ascended the stairs and entered the pulpit so silently that Mr. Moody did not hear him, and before a great congregation Edwards was necessitated to listen to the very high character given of him to the Almighty by Mr. Moody.

As soon as the prayer was closed, Mr. Moody turned round and saw Mr. Edwards. Without leaving his place he gave him his right hand, and addressed him thus: "Brother Edwards, we are all of us much rejoiced to see you here to-day, and nobody probably as much as myself; but I wish that you might have got in a little sooner or a little later, or else that

I might have heard you when you came in and known that you were here. I did n't intend to flatter you to your face; but there's one thing I'll tell you: they say that your wife is going to heaven by a shorter road than yourself"; alluding to Edwards's lengthened and metaphysical explanations of the doctrines of the church.

Mr. Edwards bowed, and after reading the Psalm went on with the sermon.

The subject of his discourse was "Christ the Example of Ministers," and may be found among his printed sermons. It is not very long according to the custom of that day, for it could have taken hardly more than an hour in delivery; but considering the ability and reputation of Jonathan Edwards, it must have been a vast disappointment to the expectant congregation, if indeed congregations were then ever disappointed in anything their preachers said. One of the few great thinkers of the world, and having also in much of his preaching a practical bearing, there is in this sermon no evidence of any profound thought; there are none of those awful pictures of future torture which sometimes filled his congregations with trembling fears; there is no special doctrinal nor practical merit; there is no beauty of expression, no strength nor depth of feeling, no spiritual fervor, no persuasive nor appealing sentences to edify a congregation or to inspire a young minister. If any young candidate for ordination at the present day should hear a sermon so tedious, so commonplace, and with so little to commend it or the gospel, I think it would greatly discourage him in the work of the ministry.

After the ordination of Mr. Strong, Mary Edwards, while continuing her visit in Portsmouth, received from her father a letter which shows so plainly the atmosphere of his daily life and thought when he was arousing all New England to that wonderful revival, and which is so apart from the tone of the present time, even of the most spiritual lives, that I make from it a few extracts:—

"MY DEAR CHILD, — . . . Though you are at a great distance from us yet God is everywhere. You are much out of the reach of our care, but you are every moment in his hands. We have not the comfort of seeing you, but He sees you. His eye is always upon you. And if you may but live sensibly near to God, and have his gracious presence, it is

no matter if you are far distant from us. I had rather you should remain hundreds of miles distant from us & have God near to you by his Spirit than to have you always with us & live at a distance from God. . . . I hope you will maintain strict & constant watch over yourself against all temptations, that you do not forsake & forget God, & particularly that you do not grow slack in secret religion. Retire often from this vain world, from all its babbles & empty shadows & vain amusements, & converse with God alone, & seek effectually for that divine grace & comfort, the least drop of which is worth more than all the riches, gaiety, pleasures & entertainments of the whole world. . . . And if the next news we should hear of you should be your death, though that would be very melancholy; yet, if at the same time we should receive such intelligence concerning you, as should give us the best grounds to hope that you had died in the Lord, how much more comfortable would this be, though we should have no opportunity to see you, or to take leave of you in your sickness, than if we should be with you during all its progress, & have much opportunity to attend upon you, & converse & pray with you, & take an affectionate leave of you, & after all have reason to apprehend, that you died without the grace & favor of God."

This was no affectation of piety; it was the quiet and deliberate confession of a man whose life had been from childhood a daily struggle against worldliness, that God might be to him all in all—and of such an undisturbed repose upon the logical issue of his profound and grand metaphysical system of theology, that he would have been quite willing, for the glory of God, to see his daughter go to the tortures of hell forever, if according to the methods of that system she had not obtained the "grace and favor of God."

Mr. WILLIAM P. UPHAM, being asked to give some account of the Jonathan Edwards short-hand writings deciphered by him for Mr. Dexter, said:—

I am not prepared just now to give a full account of the short-hand mentioned. There yet remain a few words here and there, not as yet deciphered, which prevent my rendering from being complete. At some future meeting I hope to present a full translation of these curious and interesting short-hand passages, and to give a description of the system used by Jonathan Edwards; a very ingenious and intricate system, not used, so far as I know, by any other writer. I have had great pleasure in this study for Mr. Dexter, especially as it has been

the occasion of my becoming acquainted with the Notes on "the Mind" and on "Natural Science" with which the short-hand is connected. There is a very interesting question, at what period of life these remarkable Notes were written by Edwards; how far the ideas are original; and particularly how far Edwards may have derived his great principle of the ideality of matter from Berkeley. So far as the passages in short-hand have a bearing on this question, they decidedly confirm the impression given by the Notes themselves, that the ideas were original with Edwards except in a few instances where he has disavowed originality. One passage of the short-hand shows positively that he was "young" at the time of writing; and the tenor of the whole leaves a conviction of his modest and unassuming nature. One cannot think it possible, in view of the style and manner of these writings, that he could have borrowed from another, even unconsciously, the fundamental principle that matter has no actual independent existence, upon which depends all his reasoning, both in his Notes and in his great work on the Freedom of the Will.

Rev. Dr. A. V. G. ALLEN made a few extemporaneous remarks on the Edwards manuscripts, based on information received from Rev. Dr. Tryon Edwards.

Rev. Dr. EGBERT C. SMYTH alluded to the recent reproduction by two members of the Society<sup>1</sup> of the description written by Jonathan Edwards when he was twenty or perhaps but nineteen<sup>2</sup> years of age, beginning: "They say there is a young lady in ——<sup>3</sup> who is beloved of that Great Being who made and rules the world," a passage that has become classical for its beauty; and then read a few words from an unpublished letter written not far from the close of July, 1725, which contains the only allusion he has met with to the sequel of this admiration and inspiration, prior to the marriage, July 28,

<sup>1</sup> Professor Allen, "Jonathan Edwards, A Retrospect," pp. 5, 6; Professor Barrett Wendell, "A Literary History of America," pp. 84, 85.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. John A. Stoughton, "Windsor Farmes," 1883, states (p. 82) that the original was written "in the year 1723, upon a blank leaf of a book which is still preserved." Dr. Dwight says: "written on a blank leaf, in 1723," and that the "young lady" was "thirteen." She was born January 9, 1710; Edwards was born October 5, 1703.

<sup>3</sup> The words "New Haven" have crept into the text, as often quoted, perhaps from failure to notice that they are bracketed by Dr. S. E. Dwight, who first published the passage in his "Life of President Edwards," pp. 114, 115.

1727, of Jonathan Edwards and Sarah Pierpont. The extract reads: "Father Has lately been a jurny To Newhaven Left Brother in health & Very Good Orders In ye Colledg. our friends in the town also are well we have heard more lately by anne drake who Saw him well & in Good Sircomstances at Nuhaven (when She was at m<sup>r</sup> Stileses weding) it is Reported that he is Ingaged their you may Guess with "

This letter was written by a younger sister of Jonathan to an elder sister, then at Northampton. The writer married William Metcalf, Esq., of Lebanon, Connecticut, a graduate of Harvard College. They were the grandparents of Hon. George Bliss, LL.D., of Springfield, "an eminent lawyer, State-councillor and senator," and for eighteen years a member of the Board of Visitors of Andover Theological Seminary, serving on it, in the earliest years of its history, with President Dwight, Rev. Samuel Spring, D.D., and several of the Founders. His son, bearing the same name, and also a distinguished lawyer, was Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, President of the Senate, a member of the Executive Council, an originator and President of the Boston and Albany Railroad, and prominent in the early history of a number of other important railroads.

Anne Drake, who reported the engagement, not long after married a relative of the Rev. Isaac Stiles, whose wedding she attended. Mr. Stiles became the father of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College, whose life and services have been commemorated by Abiel Holmes, D.D., and by Professor Kingsley.

The letter contains notices of several other marriages and announcements or "publications," with other items of news, all compressed within the limits of a single page with an art of condensation whose revival may well be desired; and it does not fail to note, in the abundance of its society news, that "Their has Been of Late and is Stil a Remarkable Stir in this Place," referring doubtless to one of those religious awakenings which marked the ministry of Rev. Timothy Edwards.

Reference was made by the speaker to the gratifying progress which a member of the Society, Mr. Upham, is making in deciphering the short-hand entries found in Edwards's manuscripts; and to the additional evidence thus afforded as to the early origin of the "Notes on Natural Science." Allusion was

also made to a private letter in which the distinguished editor of Berkeley's Works, Professor Alexander Campbell Fraser, LL.D., had expressed his interest in a new and critical edition of Edwards's writings; to which the speaker added a wish that Yale University might promote such a result.

Rev. Dr. MCKENZIE remarked that the memoir of Jonathan Edwards which Professor Park was known to be preparing was left nearly complete, and that arrangements were now being made for its publication.

He said further, in regard to one of the sermons presented by Professor Dexter, that Edwards's general reputation in the world seemed to be based less upon his work as a philosopher and theologian than upon the unfortunate illustration to which attention has again been called. The opinion of Edwards upon the matter under discussion did not differ from those of other men of his time, and would have passed without special comment if he had not, by way of enforcing it, made a most unhappy reference to the spider. It is not an uncommon experience for even a thoughtful man to be ruined by an illustration. But what led Edwards to the use of this dreadful, repellent method of enforcing his point? A man is quite likely to find illustrations in things with which he is familiar. They are suggested by the associations of his life. I have wondered if it was not so in this instance, so that the words which are justly complained of came naturally to his mind, and were used almost inadvertently, or at least without seeing how they would impress others. There is a psychological question here which is not without interest. When Edwards was a boy, he was much taken up with spiders. When not more than twelve years old he wrote an elaborate account of the character and habits of this unattractive member of the animal kingdom. This work was the result of much observation and study, and has been spoken of as one of the wonders of literature. This was only a few months before he entered Yale College. His paper was entitled "Of Insects"; and began in this way: "Of all Insects no one is more wonderful than the Spider, especially with Respect to their sagacity and admirable way of working." The whole essay may be found in the "Andover Review," with the original illustrations. It is clear that this creature was held in higher esteem by him than by most into whose way it comes. My sugges-



tion is merely this, that the choice of the illustration in which it appears in the sermon may be ascribed to this early and persistent interest in the spider itself, rather than to an utter lack of sensibility and good taste. Nothing can make it other than abhorrent, but it is possible that the good man may be in a slight degree relieved of the reproach which his ill-considered word brought upon him, which has done so much to obscure his greatness and take from the grandeur of his name and work.

Remarks were also made during the meeting by Messrs. HENRY W. HAYNES, WINSLOW WARREN, CHARLES C. SMITH, T. K. LOTHROP, GEORGE H. MONROE, GAMALIEL BRADFORD, MORTON DEXTER, and EDWARD CHANNING.